1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The Greek Villager]

from a distant island or an isolated mainland village. On the other hand, almost every village home contains photographs of relatives who have taken on the habits of the city. All islanders are not seafarers, for the majority of those in the larger islands live from the soil as do the peasants of the mainland. There is thus a lively interdependence among the urbanite, the seafarer, and the villager.

This interdependence, not always recognized by the Greeks themselves, has a fascination for the Western observer who is curious about the working of a society other than his own. For him the panorama of Greece is a source of enchantment. Now brilliant, now shadowy, through it the thread of tradition runs. Who are the carriers of this continuity? What has insulated the thread against time? It is doubtful whether the answers can be found in the clear, cold, statistical analysis of the social scientist. But an observer trained in the scientific method, with a background of Greek history and literature and an acquaintance with modern Greece that began with a first visit there thirty years ago, may be able to give interpretations and insights helpful to those interested in contemporary Greece.

Such interpretations may even have a broader implication. The Greeks differ in innumerable ways from Asian peoples and from those of the Middle East and Africa. Nevertheless, most Greeks on the mainland live in villages which are much closer in tempo and quality of life to villages on other continents than to anything one can find in the United States. They work small plots of land, scattered in strips around their villages, as do many rural people throughout the world, in sharp contrast to the mechanized American farm of several hundred acres; they know the meaning of hunger, of poverty, of the catastrophe of war and violence, which most Americans fortunately have not had to experience, but which is all too common in the newly developing countries; they also face many of the same problems of relationship to the central government and its services, of accepting or rejecting national programs of rural change.

To know the rural Greek, therefore, is to know more about rural humanity, most of which lives in a different social world from our own city-dominated society. Village people want to be seen not as cannon fodder, potential customers, religious or political converts, but as parents hoping for a better life for their children, as farmers wishing better yields to feed the family until next harvest, as new citizens — not yet secure in their franchise — learning the rudiments of the political process. Even more important, they want to be seen as individuals, with all the rich color this word conveys.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

household. In many cases, a newly married couple will live in the bride's home; in more cases, it will be in the husband's home. When the residence is patrilocal, a daughter-in-law is welcomed by the other women of a household since her presence means another pair of hands to help with the many daily tasks; but she may also be viewed as a potential source of conflict. But today so many young couples establish a home of their own that the in-law problem is not one of working together throughout the day but one of observing the proprieties when the couple goes to visit or receives the husband's parents. If the in-laws live in the neighborhood, the contact is more frequent and the daughter-in-law has to be on her best behavior to avoid offending the mother-in-law.

In those cases where the two women are in the same house, the mother-in-law is supposed to tell the daughter-in-law in a kindly way what is expected of her. This is of special importance if the younger woman comes from another village. Even during the brief engagement period, when the fiancée makes her visits to the young man's home, the mother-in-law will start the orientation. She shows the young woman how the bread is prepared and baked as well as how other household tasks are conducted. In Greece the relationship between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is said to be warmer and more cordial, involving less conflict, than that found in the neighboring Slavic countries. The young wife also must respect her father-in-law.

In reply to the question, "if there were a quarrel between a man's wife and his parents, with whom would he side?" the customary answer was that he would side with his wife. Many a husband said that he would refrain from scolding his wife in front of his mother even if he thought the wife were wrong. This generalization, though it may have some exceptions, shows that the wife is given a place of importance and not treated like a servant when she comes into the new home.

Many conversations revealed the sense of responsibility that women have toward their parents-in-law, even after their husbands die. Their remarriage is not greatly encouraged. One day at the Tripolis (Peloponnesos) market, a widow, whose husband had died seventeen years before, mentioned that she had an older son in Indiana who wanted her to come with her other son to the United States and settle with him: "I would like to go but my in-laws are too old to be left. If I went, who would look after them?" Such behavior, not at all uncomon, shows the continuing strength of family ties among the older generation.

Childbirth and Child Care

In Greece to be a mother is to be honored. Furthermore, childbirth is a joyous occasion. In the past, most children were delivered at home — it was a family affair and not a medical one, unless the birth was unusually

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[548] [589] prostitution are found in villages. One or more women with "loose morals" may live in the village and be visited by the men. In the town or city the person who introduces village girls into prostitution is apt to be a fairly young widow who seeks this as a means of support.

3. William Miller, *Greek Life in Town and Country* (London, 1905), p. 93.

[184] [197] 4. Around Phlorina, in western Macedonia, boys marry older girls, since fewer women are available. This is a Slavic-speaking area where the women work more in the fields. In most Greek villages it is considered undesirable for a man to marry an older woman.

5. In one group of twenty-five soldiers from different villages, six reported that there was no promenade in their village, although each of the six knew of its existence elsewhere. The remaining nineteen said that they had the promenade.

6. Matchmakers, the proxenetres, still exist today, according to a clipping from the *Athens News*, November 23, 1952: "Athanasia Markou arranged marriages. That is to say, she was what they call a 'proxenetra.' A short time ago she had as a client one Irene who wanted to get her first cousin, Maria, married. Markou undertook to find a husband, and introduced Irene's cousin Maria to her own brother. The marriage took place, but the agreed fee to the 'proxenetra' was not paid, and Markou tried to dissolve the marriage out of anger."

7. A statement of the connection between dowry practices, attitudes toward land tenure, and the status of a son-in-law living in his wife's paternal home is found in Ernestine Friedl, "Dowry and Inheritance in Modern Greece," *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, XXII, ser. 2 (November 1959).

8. One important reason why a young woman prefers a shopkeeper or artisan from a town or city is the fact that she will be relieved of the drudgery of farm work.

9. Bardis, "Main Features of the Greek Family," pp. 17, 20.

10. D. Loukopoulos, *Laographia*, XII (1938).

Chapter IX. Ceremonies and Holy Days

1. See D. Loukopoulos, *Laographia*, XII (1938).

2. See William Miller, *Greek Life in Town and Country*, p. 96.

[186] 3. Miller, *Greek Life*, p. 73, correctly points out that the strong particularism, or local loyalty, found in Greece is often given expression in the local saint's day which heightens clannishness.

4. Agnes Diamantopoulos, "Greek Dances of Today and the Dances of Ancient Greece: A Comparison," *Hellenia*, XXI (January–March 1953), 9. On Easter Tuesday the people of Megara dance the *trata*, an ancient dance depicting the motions of the fishermen hopefully hauling in their nets.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

6. After this material had been written, there appeared a volume in English by George A. Megas under the title *Greek Calendar Customs* (Athens, 1956). It is a valuable source book for anyone wishing to understand the rural customs associated with various holidays. For an interesting description of the holidays in a village of Central Greece, see V. G. Valaoras, *E laographia tou chorlou mou: Perista, Naupaktias* (The Folklore of My Village: Perista, Naupaktias) (Thessaloniki, 1939).

7. See Anne Anthony, *Meet the Greeks* (Athens, 1950), for an excellent description of holidays of particular interest to the foreigner living in Athens. This small book is a most useful orientation to Greek life.

[171] 8. These facts about specific holidays are taken from St. P. Kyriakidis, "Erotimata dia ten laiken latreian" (Questions Concerning Popular Worship), *Laographia*, XI (1937), 659–677. Although I have not personally witnessed all of these customs in Greek villages, I have seen almost every one of them observed by other nationalities of the Orthodox faith.

9. For further details about the kallikantzari, see G. F. Abbott, *Macedonian Folk-*

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121 105 features include the compact arrangement of its houses, with the fields surrounding them, its accessibility to paved roads, its mixed subsistence and cash crop farming, and the existence within the village of a school, two coffeehouses and stores, several church structures, and a resident priest. In a negative sense, one of Vasilika's features is that there is nothing unusual in its history or present situation which would markedly differentiate it from other farming villages of the region. It has never been the subject of any special agricultural extension campaigns, none of the villagers have wealthy overseas relatives interested in improving the village as a whole, and it is outside the orbit of the tourist. If there is anything unusual about the village, it was the arrival of several shepherd families in 1950 and their subsequent political and social integration into the community.

[162] Vasilika is suitable from the standpoint of field work techniques for several reasons. First, since it has a population of only 216, two field workers could expect to know everyone in the community. Second, the speech of the [197] inhabitants is a form of Greek with only minor dialectic variations from the [122] Athenian demotic form (see glossary) that we had studied in preparation for [123] our work. And third, one of the families in the village was willing to have us live in the upper story of their house, which is located close to the center of the village.

121 Vasilika's way of life must be understood as completely representative [184] only of itself, but in some of its general features it has most in common with other farming villages on the Boeotian plain. The degree to which the habits, values, and attitudes of the villagers resemble those of other Greeks, at this stage of our knowledge, must remain on the level of impressions. As a rural [171] settlement, however, Vasilika has many features in common with farming villages that are segments of old national cultures in other parts of the world. The culture of the village is assuredly not in all its aspects a uniquely Greek phenomenon. Students of similar villages in other parts of Europe, the Near East, Latin America, and Asia will find many features of the culture and social structure of Vasilika familiar to them. But even these specialists will find a goodly number of features and especially of combinations of features that are entirely unfamiliar, for they are features that are uniquely Hellenic.

Two problems of particular relevance to anthropological studies of the rural populations of modern nations have been considered: the usefulness of choosing a rural settlement as the unit of observation, together with the new lines of investigation such a choice requires; and the selection of a particular settlement for study. These problems present their difficulties, but anthropologists working in old national cultures have some advantages; they can consult the works of other specialists. In Greece, for example, an anthropologist need not act as his own historian, economist, political scientist, psychologist, and sociologist. Folklorists have long been collecting oral literature and folk costumes from all sections of the country. Greeks and non-Greeks alike have produced many varied reports on Greek life and culture, both ancient and modern. Neither does an anthropologist working in Greece have to act as a geographer or agrono-

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Many observers have assumed that the practice of drawing the kerchief in front of the face to cover the mouth has the same meaning as the Muslim practice of veiling their women. It may be that the style of draping the kerchiefs was taken up during the Turkish occupation, but in contemporary Vasilika it has none of the connotation of modesty, it rather signifies work—specifically labor in the fields. The women explain the use of the outer kerchief in entirely utilitarian terms. They say it keeps the dust out of their mouths.

Women and girls under forty have a different style of dress. In winter, on ordinary days both indoors and out, they wear cotton flannel, printed kimono-like garments with long sleeves. They wear lisle stockings and cloth slippers with the kimonos. The girls prefer bright colors, with red often the favorite. In summer, the younger women wear cotton or rayon summer dresses which are of generalized European style. The younger women never wear the helmet-like brown inner kerchief, though they wear the outer kerchief, in the fields. Their hair is cut short. The last of the younger generation of girls over sixteen still wearing braids in 1955 cut her hair in 1956 in time for Easter. The kimono, the short hair, the discarding of the inner kerchief, are all recognized as signs of progress in the village. Many of these younger women are eager to have permanent waves when a traveling beautician comes through the settlement.

The oldest women and the least prosperous among the younger women of the village dress on holidays as they do every other day—they own no dress clothes, as it were, but the unmarried girls of all income levels try to manage something new, including, if possible, a pair of nylon stockings. What it will be is kept a secret, and Easter outfits are often sewed late at night, or tried on in real seclusion, so that other families will not see what the girls will wear until the day itself.

Except for the winter kimonos, clothes are acquired only for holidays, and then, after a few months, become everyday clothes to wear when working around the house or in the fields. In consequence, wool dresses or rayon clothes lose their shapes; the seams split and tear, because these garments were not originally designed to withstand the strenuous work the women do in them. Both men's and women's clothes get badly soiled from the fields, and they are washed in hot water and often pounded with a paddle as well, to loosen all the dirt. The homespun fabrics of the older women withstand such treatment well, but the wools and rayons of the younger women and the men's suits rather quickly reach the condition of old rags, as the villagers call them, and thereby become suitable for work in the fields and around the house.

Children's clothing has become important for the villagers because the standard of what is expected has changed within the last two decades. One farmer and his wife explained their desire not to have more than the two children they already had by saying that, among other things, their children now had to have shoes all the time, a requirement which did not exist when they themselves were children. In the winter, some children wear rubbers over heavy stockings but without shoes. Boys wear short pants until late adolescence, but otherwise their clothes are like those of their elders. Girls wear dresses like those of the younger women. Kimonos, however, are not considered appropriate for

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583 marriage and affairs, so that there is less danger that they will allow themselves
593 to be compromised and less need to claim male protection.

[182] Yet, with all the difficulties and sacrifices required by the dowry and
[836] arranged marriage system in Vasilika, there have been very few young people
[577] who have "gone to the mountains," as the villagers phrase elopements of couples who have fallen in love. One or two such affairs seem to occur in each generation, at a time when the girl's male relatives are dead or not in the village; and among young people each of whose families have relatively few economic
[558] resources. The subsequent standard of living of the couples has been among the lowest in the village, and the men never fully recover from the stigma of such senseless behavior, from the villagers' view. Observable examples reinforce the villagers' argument that there is no hope for a decent life without a dowry, and reinforce their admonitions to their sons to wait for properly arranged marriages and not to be *trelos* (crazy) and run off to the mountains with a girl. The admonition gains force from the further observation that if the eloping young couples have little, their children will have still less. Any man who accepts a girl without a dowry is thought to be cheating his children of their rightful inheritance from their mother.

[183] Yet, as we have had occasion to remark in other connections, the structure of marriage arrangements in Vasilika is not quite as rigid and as precise as the foregoing generalized description might imply. One Vasilika brother, in speaking of a sister who had become his responsibility after their father's death, remarked "Glory be to God (and he crossed himself) she met a man who liked her and was willing to take her with nothing but the *rukha* and what we had
[533] in the house." The unexpected can happen in Vasilika, and infant girls are still dandled with songs about how their beauty will some day attract a husband without a dowry.

Family and Kin Structure

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583 The foregoing discussion of family activities and of the forms of
182 property inheritance and circulation has by implication involved questions of family structure. By giving a newly married couple property of its own to manage, the dowry serves as a mechanism to separate the newly married couple structurally from either of their two sets of parents. This is true even when the farmers bring their brides back to their fathers' households. Such patrilocal residence produces the temporary situation of a functioning, cooperative, extended, patrilineal kin group, but one that is continually aware of its distinct component elementary families. We have said temporary because there is no contemplation that the several elementary family groups concerned will live out their lives in a joint, cooperative household.

601 The kinship terminology used in the village is congruent with the struc-
● 171 ture underlying the realities and expectations of the situation just described. Greek terms of reference for mother, father, grandfather, grandchildren, cousin,

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aunt, uncle, niece, and nephew are directly translatable into the English words, except that the linguistic forms vary for males and females, and that, in fact, the villagers refer to distinctions between first and second cousins more frequently than Americans do.[4] Like ours, the system is characterized by the distinctness of elementary family terms, the separation of generations, and the equal consideration of both father's and mother's line of descent in the terms for all consanguineal (blood) relatives. So far the Greek terms are also entirely congruent with the actual functioning distinctiveness of the elementary family and the existing bilateral descent in the country. There is special interest for us, however, in the Greek terms for affinal relatives (that is, relatives by marriage) which, in some instances, differ from those in English and are, in turn, congruent with the particular significance of marriage in Greek social structure.

Petheros (masculine) and *pethera* (feminine) are equivalent to English father-in-law and mother-in-law, but there is an additional, reciprocal Greek term which two sets of in-laws use in referring to each other: *simpetheros* and *simpethera*. In English these must be rendered as "my son's or daughter's father- or mother-in-law." The Greek terms, then, group together the parents of a husband and wife with a term of reference roughly translatable as "co-in-laws." The Greek word for son-in-law, *ghambros*, is also used to mean groom, and that for daughter-in-law, *nifi*, is also used for bride. Moreover, all the members of a man's elementary family, not only his parents, but also his brothers and sisters, all refer to his wife as their *nifi*, and all the members of a woman's elementary family refer to her husband as their *ghambros*. The terms *nifi* and *ghambros*, then, are not equivalent to any English kin terms, but must be translated as "that man or woman who has married a member of my elementary family." At least two generations, that of parents and their children, use the same terms to refer to people normally in the younger generation. In other words, the generational distinctiveness characteristic of terms for blood relatives is replaced by the status designation for a person who has married into an elementary family. This disregard of generation is not reciprocated, however, by the spouses of one's children or by one's brothers and sisters. As we have seen, mother and father of one's spouse are called *petharos* and *pethera;* now we can add that brothers and sister of one's spouse are referred to as *kunyadhos* and *kunyadha*, that is brother- and sister-in-law.

The status category of marriage into a particular elementary family appears again, however, in the existence of distinct terms by which men who have married two sisters refer to each other, *badzanakidhes*, and by which women who have married two brothers refer to each other, *sinifadhes*. Men who have married sisters and women who have married brothers have to deal with the same sets of in-laws and this constitutes a common bond which is signalized by the terms just given. Another way of saying this is that those women who are referred to as *nifi* by the same actual kin, also have a name for each other, *sinifadha*, and those men who are referred to as *ghambros* by the same actual kin, also have a name for each other, *badzanakis*.

[4] See Andromedas (1957) for a complete list of modern Greek kinship terms.

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in Greece, the stream of cultural transmission between urban and rural Greece via kinship groups is constantly renewed.

The maintenance of urban-rural contacts and thereby the spread of a national culture and its institutions through upwardly mobile kin is not a uniquely Greek phenomenon. Almost the same pattern is mentioned for French Canada in the late 1930's (Miner 1939:83, 239–241), and is indicated in Garigue's more recent study of kinship awareness and relationships from the standpoint of French-Canadians living in Montreal (Garigue 1956:1092–1097). It is at least hinted at for a part of Belgium (Turney-High 1953:196, 205). The migration of farmers' children to urban centers with an accompanying shift in occupation or in social position or both, and the continuation of family ties are described in greater detail for the Irish countryside of the 1930's (Arensberg and Kimball 1940:146–152). Since Arensberg and Kimball were not specifically interested in the cultural effects of migration on the farming population remaining at home, they do not present data which would make it possible to determine whether the situation is completely parallel to that of Greece in this respect. Some elements in Garigue and Firth's analysis of awareness of kinship connections among Londoners of Italian provenience also suggest parallels with the Greek situation, but there is some discordant evidence as well (Garigue and Firth 1956:70, 79–81).

However, the type of family structure and functioning which I have described for Greece conforms in many ways to LePlay's idea of the *famille-souche* or stem family which he presents as common in 19th century Europe (Zimmermann and Frampton 1935:122–127). Chinese patterns of mobility and urban-rural relations also exhibit remarkable parallels with Greece (e.g., Lin 1947:passim). For Mexico, in the context of a discussion of urbanization without breakdown, Oscar Lewis describes a pattern of visiting between Tepoztecans who have moved to Mexico City and their relatives in Tepozatlan which has much in common with the picture I have presented for Greece, and which has had similar cultural consequences (Lewis 1952:39–40).

On the other hand, if the Greek pattern is not unique, neither is it universal. Upward social movement for sons of farmers is relatively infrequent in many societies. It is not recorded for the Dutch village described by the Keurs (1955:96–100) or for an English village described by Williams (1956:34–54). Barnes (1954:44), in his discussion of a Norwegian island parish, says specifically that here " . . . kinsmen, by and large, are approximate social equals." Nor does upward social movement for farmers' sons appear significant in French communities (Bernot and Blancard 1953; Wylie 1957; Bottomore 1954:150; Lipset and Rogoff 1954:563). Where upward social movement from farm to town does exist, the Greek pattern of continued strong kinship ties is not necessarily duplicated. Indeed, for the Polish peasant, Thomas and Znaniecki state specifically that as soon as peasants pass into the middle or lower middle class they effect a complete break with the family group back in the village (Thomas and Znaniecki 1918:Vol. I, 98–99). As we have seen, Wolf, in

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contrast to Lewis, has noted the challenge to family ties which upward mobility creates in the wider Mexican scene as he describes it.

I therefore suggest that peasant communities differ both with respect to whether they exist as part of a nation in which social mobility for peasants is characteristic, and also with respect to whether kin ties are maintained in spite of mobility. If my analysis of the Greek material is valid, the determination of whether one or both of these conditions exist may well be an essential part of the study of peasant communities, and should also be included in the criteria for peasant typologies. Since peasant societies are by definition part societies, the question of whether kinship is a mechanism by which peasant communities maintain connections with the nations of which they are a part would seem to be a query which is not only strategic but one which anthropologists are especially qualified to explore. The implications of such studies for a clearer understanding of the structure and functions of kinship in urban communities as well as in rural villages are already apparent from the results of the work recently done in this field (Firth 1956; Garigue 1956).

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[1] This is a revised version of a paper prepared for a symposium on European peasant cultures held at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association at Chicago in December, 1957.

The research on which the paper is based was conducted in 1955–56, supported by a grant made under the Fulbright Act and by supplementary funds from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. My husband, Harry L. Levy, Professor of Classics at Hunter College, participated in the field work.

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[2] Renée Kahane of the University of Illinois, in a private communication, points out that Greek women not infrequently become nurses or dentists. Village girls, she adds, may also become domestic servants in the towns or in Athens. These particular alternatives were not reflected in the genealogies or other data we collected in Vasilika, Boeotia.

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[For information on similarities in religious beliefs and practices between the eastern (Greek Orthodox) and the western (Roman) churches, see category 116 passim,]

/For a discussion of the relation of the Greek house to the houses of other Balkan peoples, see category 116, pp. 1-118./

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Sarakatsani EH14

I. VARIOUS FORMS OF THE GREEK POPULAR HOUSE

A. THE MODERN GREEK HOUSE

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First, we must note that in Greece, in ancient times as well as to-day, we see both basic forms of dwelling, namely both curved and rectangular. As regards the first form (round, elliptical, horse-shoe), this is limited to the most primary forms of life, that is to the nomadic or semi-nomadic shepherd populations (Sarakatsanoi, Vlachoi) and sporadically to the poorest class of the farmers living in the Thessalian and other plain districts, who have kept, by tradition, the elementary and primitive methods of construction and roofing of the conical and saddle-type huts, and especially the use of organic materials such as wood, branches, weeds and reeds, which are easily provided by the marshes and the forests of these areas (1). As regards the rectangular houses, these are now more prevalent, as they were even in prehistoric Greece. The reasons for this may be that the rectangular buildings can be easily added to and divided into regular compartments (2). That is why we shall mainly speak about the rectangular houses.

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Greece, from a geographical as well as from a housing point of view, finds herself on the boundary between the northern temperate zone and the desert zone, which includes Northern Africa and Front Asia with Asia Minor and Iran. Consequently, continental Greece belongs to the countries of houses with sloping or eagle type roofs, and insular Greece together with Cyprus (excluding the Ionian Islands and the Islands of the Northern Aegean) to the countries of houses with flat roofs.

The explanation of this may lie in the fact that the flat roof may have originated from the simple flat shelter-roof which is essential

1) **G. Megas,** Θεσσαλικαὶ οἰκήσεις, Athens 1946 pp. 11-16. For further details on primitive types of dwelling see also **Franz Oelmann,** Haus und Hof im Altertum. I Berlin 1926 pp. 45 foll.

2) See **Fr. Oelmann,** op. cit. pp. 39 and foll., 41.

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in the desert lands to protect both men and cattle from the burning rays of the sun, and the eagle-type or saddle-type roof may have its origin in the sloping roofs of the primitive shelters used as a protection from rain and wind (1).

As it is well known, the roof is the primary and most important element of house construction, and the form and method of its construction exerts an influence both on the architectural articulation and on the entire composition of the house, so that the differences between the two categories may be mainly explained through it (2).

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For this reason we shall first examine the sloping roof houses and then the houses with flat roof, which roof is called «doma».

a. HOUSES WITH SLOPING OR EAGLE-TYPE ROOF

1. One-storey houses.

These houses, especially in the plain districts, are usually made out of brick with only their foundations, to a height of 40-50 cm. from the ground, built in stone; they are one-storied and are covered with tiles.

In their original and simplest form, these houses consist of one rectangular room, including under one roof the family, their cattle and corn. They are either of the narrow or of the wide-front types.

The most ancient and the most closely related to the original form of Greek house, is the simple narrow-front house, belonging to the type known as «megaron». It has the entrance on one of its narrow sides, having usually in front of it a «προστῷον», that is an open portico. Sometimes the side walls of the house are extended as far as the front of this «prostoon», thus forming what is called the «παραστάδες» (antae) having usually two wooden poles between them (ἐν παραστάσι type); but sometimes the side walls are not extended and then the προστῷον remains entirely open, and its roof is supported by two or more poles (πρόστυλος, δίστυλος or τετράστυλος type).

This type of house, with an eagle-type or saddle-type roof, is plainly found in continental Greece, in the Greek villages of Haemos,

1) **Fr. Oelmann**, op. cit. pp. 61 foll., and in «Gnomon» 1927 p. 173.
2) **Fr. Oelmann**, Haus und Hof pp. 41 and 90.

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II. THE HOUSE OF THE SLAV PEOPLES OF THE BALKANS

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There have been many studies about the shapes of the popular houses of the Bulgars, Serbs and Albaniers, but no comparative survey has been as yet carried out, to determine their relation to the Greek house.

Jovan Cvijic' in «La Péninsule Balcanique», Paris, 1918 p. 244 has tried to discern the various housing types in the Balcans and to determine their expansion. Among those he includes Greco-mediterranean house type, «probably originating from the old Byzantine houses, which can be found in all the Koutsovlach villages, even in the ones of continental climate, and which also prevail in the Slav populations of Mijaci and Mavrovci, at the centre of the peninsula». In his couclusions he is followed by Otto Maull (1).

Franz Oelman (2), however, questions the correctness of Cvijic's conclusions on the grounds that the latter «relies on purely external characteristics, having no value for the comprehension of the historical evolution of the house». A detailed survey is needed of course which should be based, as it was said at the beginning, on rich comparative material, connected with to the details of the plan and the methods of construction, so that we may arrive to concrete and correct conclusions(3),

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Such material, as regards the Bulgarian house, is given by the book of Teodor Zlatev, Architect - Engineer, Bălgarskata Kăsta v svoja arhitektonicen i kulturnoistoriceski rasvoj. I: Selska Kâsta Sofia 1930 (pp. VIII+178 figg 153). (The Bulgarian House in its architectural and historical development. I: The Rural House).

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[342]

Zlatev, in his study of the rural Bulgarian house from an architectural and historical point of view, relates it directly to the houses of the Slavs, who were established in lower Moessia from the 6th cent. A. D, among the romanised or hellenized Thracians, and indirectly to the

1) Griech. Mittelmeergebiet, Breslau, 1922, pp. 62 and foll.
2) Haus und Hof im Altertum, 1927, 1 p. 19.
3) L. Schultze Jena, Makedonien, Jena 1927 p. 89.

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
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ancient megaron type house of the Indo-europeans. For our object, however, the interesting point is the detailed and concrete description of the farmers' houses of modern Bulgaria, which the writer illustrates with many photographs, plans and sections, so that we may get a clear picture of the architectural shapes and evolution of the Bulgarian house. However, in order, to be clear and to render possible the exact comparison of the Bulgarian house to the Greek one, and considering the fact that the Bulgarian language is not widely known, I shall dwell rather fully on all that concerns this type of house(1). For greater help I am attaching plates, showing the evolution of the Bulgarian house, as it can be drawn from the plans of Bulgarian houses presented by Zlatev.

G 171 342 B 342

A. THE BULGARIAN HOUSE

As it can be deduced from Zlatev's study, the Bulgarian agricultural house does not present the variety of shapes of the Greek house. If we except the troglodyten house which is frequent in some parts of Northern Bulgaria, the Bulgarian country houses belong to the straight-lined rectangular buildings with an eagle-type or saddle-type roof; according to the nature of the ground, they are separated into mountainous and plain types The lowland types are as a rule just like the Greek ones, one-storey and they are built out of stones or bricks, and roofed with tiles or thatch (2). The mountainous types are two-storey, the ground floor being out of stone and the upper either entirely out of wood or with wooden frames which are filled with unbaked bricks or woven branches, and sprayed on both sides with mud mixed with straw. The roof, in the mountainous areas, is covered with tiles or plates, but in some places thatch is also used.

B [184]

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1) I must here express my warm thanks to Mr. K. Th. Stamatiades who, with his knowledge of the Bulgarian language, has rendered possible my study of Zlatev's book.

G [127]

2) According to **C. Jirecek,** Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien, Wien 1891 p. 157 and foll. « over the largest part of the country one can see but poor houses in the villages, of brown earth colour without whitewash; their roofs were mostly covered with mere thatch during the time of Turkish occupation. It is only since the latest years after the liberation, that an increase of tile-roofs is seen from year to year.

This type of house is as a rule in the middle of a large courtyard, surrounded by a plaited fence; the secondary parts of the housing, such as stable, hay-barn, cereal store, etc. are dispersed into this yard.

In Southern Bulgaria, the Bulgarian farmers' houses do not present any difference from the rural houses of the Greeks, who were established there many centuries ago in the areas of Kavakli and Messimvria, as I have described them in my survey Θρᾳκικαὶ Οἰκήσεις (pp. 27-29 and 43-44), or from the houses of Southern, Eastern and Western Thrace. This is evident from the plans of two houses, one from the village of Macrolivado (Ouzountsovo) of the Chaskovo district (fig. 33) and the other from the Karatoprak village, of the Philippople district (fig. 34).

The first one was built in 1780; it consists of two main rooms, completely separated from each other, and of a portico which originally covered all the frontage of the house. The small room (odaja) on the right hand end of the portico is an addition of recent years. According to Zlatev «the existence of a fire place in both rooms is not normal» (p. 104) «and it is characteristic to note that the hearth in the main room, the kǎsta, has been built on the external wall». In the other room, called here «zantsa», the hearth has derived from repair and it is obvious that the use of the other room was different, namely it was used to stabling the cattle or storing fruits, ect., as it is usual in the rural houses of Southern Thrace(1). On one end of the building, in line with the two rooms, the oven has been built on one end of the portico, which is often seen in other parts of Thrace. Zlatev says that, «the division of space was not changed in bigger houses, possessing more rooms. The additional spaces are placed in line, and the portico is increased by expansion along the entire lengthened frontage of the house(2). When this lengthening is extended too much, and the length has an oppresive influence on the external appearence, the portico is then adapted so that it is extended outwardly from its centre, in the shape af a square, thus very much reminding the shape ot the mountainous house» (Zlatev, p. 104).

The same is noted in the house of the Karatoprak village (built in 1912) which is tripartite and consists of two rooms and a stable, but a part of one of its rooms (of the soba) has been separated and formed a special space which was called, from the Greek language,

1) **G. Megas,** Θρᾳκικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p. 13.
2) Cf. **G. Megas,** ibid. figg. 10 and 13.

[The Bulgarian House of the Mountains]

In these two-storey houses as well, we distinguish in the upper-floor the two basic spaces just as in the Bulgarian house of the plains, namely the kăsta and the oda or soba with the so-called tsardak (or islak or soundourma) that is the open portico, in front of them. The lower storey is used, just as in the Greek houses, for the stabling of cattle and the storing of fruits, but very often it also includes a room with a hearth for the residence of the family during the winter. This is also called «kăsta» i.e. house, or even better, «lower house» and «small house» in contrast to the «upper», or «big house» that is the main room of the upper floor, where the family lives in the summer months.

The second room, called soba, is also used as sleeping quarter for the family, and more seldom for the storing of food and other articles. For this last purpose, another additional space is also used and is called «killer»; the upper floor is thus divided into three spaces (Plate XV).

This distribution is shown by the house of Sredna Gora (Messon Oros) which is very important as it exercised an influence upon the houses of Balkan, according to Zlatev (1). (See Fig. 43, 44 and Plate XV 1-2).

The portico in the upper floor is used, just as in the Greek houses, for the drying of fruit and as a living room of the family during the summer months. Parts of it are usually divided by light wooden or brick partitions, forming spaces called «ambar» (stores) for cereals, or even small rooms called «odaja» and «soba».

Finally, in some more composite forms of houses there is a space between the two main rooms, used as an anti-room, having the floor higher by 0.15-0.20 m. and called prust (Greek «μπρούστι»); and also some other smaller spaces, divided off and used as hiding-places or cellars. In the more developed forms, such as in the houses of the village

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towns, even in their palaces. Slavs never used stone construction until the 10th cent., except for their Southern tribes who, having arrived in the Balkan peninsula and the Italian boundaries on the 6th cent., could see for themselves the models of Byzantine and Roman architecture». Stone construction was first used in the building of churches and of palaces by experts specially invited from abroad. Cf. **J. Cvijic'**, op. cit. pp. 228, 230, 241, **G. Megas**, Θρακ. Οἰκήσεις, p. 48.

1) According to **Cvijic**, op. cit. p. 250, «the house of Srendnja Gora is the one that corresponds better to the desires of all Bulgarian farmers, because it has spread all over the country after the Turkish occupation».

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342 of Zeravna (Plate XV 4, 5) one end of the portico is arranged as a
171 balcony (kioschki) slightly projecting and giving a view on the road, with its floor higher by 50-70 cm. from that of the rest of the portico, exactly as in the case of the sofas in the rich Greek houses of Northern Greece (1).

According to the above survey and after the mere examination of plates XIII-XV of the appendix, it is proved, I think, that, if we except the zadrouga-systems 6-8 pl. XIII, the general disposition of space both in one-storied and two-storied Bulgarian houses does not differ from that of the Greek house and especially the North Greek one; it also displays the same consistency and the same evolution from simpler to more complex forms. Exactly as in the external shape and the entire arrangement, the internal arrangement of the space in the Bulgarian house does not differ from the Greek and especially
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[354] the Northern Greek house. The hearth, in the Bulgarian house, is
[352] built in the middle of one of the walls or in one corner of the main room with a chimney that semi-circularly protrudes over it. We also find there our well known shelves high on the walls of the room, wall cupboards (doulapze), little opening (juklouk) and large wooden cupboards (moussandri) on both sides of the hearth; the sofas (menderia) also here extend along the walls and are covered with manifold patterns, rugs and cushions.

B
[352] Facing the hearth there is the pitcher-stand and next to it, in the
[252] wall, the cutlery cup-board. Bread is baked in a clay tray down in the hearth, just as in the houses of Agrafa in Thessaly. A low round table is used for eating, exactly as in the Greek rural houses in older times (2).

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192 C. Jirecek, when describing the interior of the Bulgarian rural
342 house towards the end of the 19th century, also mentions some articles whose names originate from the Greek language: chromel (χειρόμυλος) = a hand-mill for wheat or salt; stomna or stovna (στάμνα) = water pitcher with narrow neck; charkomka (χάλκωμα) = brass-utensil; paploma (πάπλωμα) = bed-cover; sakul (σακκοῦλι) = bag; ikona (εἰκόνα) = an ikon placed in the corner of the room (3).

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[192] 1) See **G. Megas** Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις, pp. 86, 93, 97, 99.

2) According to Jirecek's note where he describes the Bulgarian urban house «Bulgars use only foreign words for the table. These are the Greek «trapeza», the Rumanian «massa» and the Turkish «sofra».

3) **C. Jirecek,** op. cit. p. 158, K. Myrtilos Apostolides in Ἀρχεῖον Θρᾳκικοῦ Θησαυροῦ vol. 8 p. 102 mentions many names of everyday objects which are orig-

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The only difference lies in the method of heating of the second room. This is not heated as the main room by an open hearth, but by a stove. This is the reason why this room is called soba (i.e. stove). In order to allow the smoke of the stove to escape through the chimney of the hearth, the latter is often built at the party wall and thus it is possible to feed the stove from the side of the hearth (see fig. 44).

This system of heating, the combination of hearth and stove, the latter being fed on the side of the hearth, it is generally seen, in the Slav dwellings and is probably due to German influence (1). The arrangement of the space, however, is in the Slav house entirely different from that of the Bulgarian one. With Slavs, and even with the Serbs of Bosnia the stove (Slav. pec) is in the main room, which originally constituted the entire house (called jisba or kuć'a); this stove took the place of the open hearth because of the German and Latin influence (fig. 45 a-b). The ante-room, (pitvor) which originally had no heating, was changed into a kitchen with a hearth (called kuchyna in Czech or kyha in Serb) (2) since the time when the opening of the stove it was moved and opened on the party wall, so that the fuel could be cast from the ante-room; for in front of the mouth of the stove, a base for a hearth was thus created. (Fig. 45c and 46).

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inating from the Greek and are to-day used in the written Bulgarian language: gonia (γωνία)=corner; dilavia (λαβίς)=pincer; enghistra (ἄγκιστρον) =hook; kerami (κεραμίδι)=tile etc.

1) The word **isba** which is also used by the Bulgars, and means the house or rather the basement is found in Russian texts of the 10th and 11th centuries as «istuba» and originates from the German word «Stube», meaning a place for baths, equipped with a stove, and generally a warm place (**Niederle,** Manuel 2, 105, **E. Berneker,** Slavisches etymol. Wörterbuch, word istuba (istba, izdba, izba). According to **Niederle,** op. cit. p. 106 Note 3 «Slavs may have even before learned to know the very oven through their immediate relations to the Greeks (Romains) and the Greek towns of Pontos. The construction of the upper floor and other details of the Russian and generally the Slav house are also due to the German and Norman influence». (**Niederle,** ibid. 2, 108).

2) This changing of the ante-room (antichambre or vestibule according to Niederle) into a «cuisine à foyer» (kitchen with a fire-place) was not performed with all Slav peoples and is not older than the 11th cent. We do not see it with Russians, part of the Poles and Slovaks, who preserved the vestibule as a non-heated room (**Niederle,** ibid. 107 foll). Cf. **R. Meringer,** Das volkstümliche Haus in Bosnien und der Hercegovina in Wissenschaftl. Mitteilungen aus Bosnien VII, 1900 Wien, 248 foll.

ground and having a beaten earth floor and an open fire-place» (1); as L. Niederle remarks (ibid. p. 108, note 1): «in the Balkans the Latin influence is shown in the addition of the soba to the kuc'a; this change, however, is not older than the 19th century» (2).

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Consequently, even this difference, which is noted at many places, in the system of heating between the Bulgarian agricultural house and the Greek one, is neither original nor basic.

G [342] [171]

The houses of the Rodope area are peculiar in their external architectural shape, as they do not have the open portico of the upper storey, which is so typical for the mountainous Bulgarian houses (3). Obviously it is the lack of security in these districts, where there was a lot of banditry (called Momtsilo, Kirtzalis) (4) since the later Byzantine years, that imposed here, as well as in Western Macedonia equally suffering from the incursions of Albanians, the system of fortified buildings, with their heavy and strong walls, reaching as far up as the roof even on the frontage of the house; an internal staircase; a strong main-door, with loop-holes on each side as well as the arrangement of the veranda (heliakos) into a large ante-room, or drawing room, with fine balconies or kioschks, protruding on its ends (fig. 47) (Zlatev, fig. 61 and 67), exactly as it is seen in the covered balconies and the high sofas of the rich houses in Western Macedonia, Epirus and Thessaly (5). It is understood that in the simplest shapes of houses

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1) **C. Jirecek**, op. cit. p. 158.

2) The Russian ethnologist **Tokariof**, when describing the Bulgarian house, says: «Almost all the old houses have an open hearth on the wall with a pot hanging over the fire, and with a wide open chimney that has its exit through the roof The bread is usually baked in this hearth. As for the horizontal plan, the house is divided into two parts: the kitchen with the fire-place and the «oda», the room, that now has an iron stove». (Μόρφωση, Γ' 1946 p. 126). According to **R. Meringer** (Sitzungsber. Philos. Histor. Kl. der Wiener Akad. Abh. 2 p. 13) Bulgaria, Albania and the Hercegovina are placed in the category of the countries with fire-place (Kamin!änder).

3) According to **Tokariof** «one sees as completely different thing in the Rodope mountains. We have an example in the village of Baskovo. There, the old houses have 'an extremely complicated plan which is very difficult to be analysed. Houses are very big; they have three or four floors and sometimes the wall of the front of the house has no windows at all. The upper floors sometimes extend over the lower by covered balconies, as it is the custom in the East. Houses are built one against the other, thus forming whole blocks. This architectural style is entirely different from the Eastern-Slav type of house where the plan is always a simple rectangular parallelopiped».

4) See **W. Slatarski**, Geschichte der Bulgaren, I Leipzig 1918 p. 165.

5) **G. Megas**, Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις pp. 55, 88, 97, 104, 109, fig. 50, 80, 90.

[Text continues on p. 75]

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ground floor

Fig. 47 Double dwelling in Petkovo of central Rodope, in 1820
(Zlatev, bălg. Kăsta, fig. 61)

upper floor

9:Megas 1, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Bulgaria EE1

we see here also the open portico in the ground-floor and the external staircase to the upper floor (fig. 48 Plate XVI 1 and 1a, 2); so the similarity of the building shapes of Rodope to that of the rest of Greece is very evident (See Plate XVI, 5. 6; comp. Plate VIIa, 4a, 4b).

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G [342] [171]

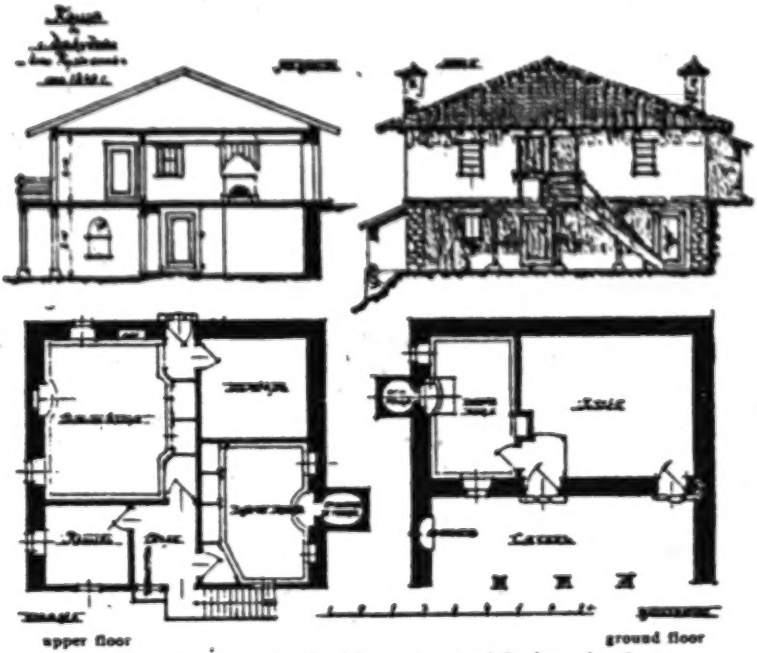

Fig. 48 House in Davidovo of central Rodope, in 1840.
(Zlatev, Balg. Kästa, fig. 63).

This may also be said generally for the house of the Orvelo (Bulg. Pirin) district, which, owing to the great use of wood, shows some unimportant variations (1).

3. The Troglodyte Houses.

The troglodyte houses (called by the Bulgars «bourdel» from the Roumanian word «bordeiu») are, by origin and construction, entirely different in shape from those already examined above.

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1) See Zlatev, Bälgar. kästa pp. 81-89.

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But even later, after the 15th century, when Bulgaria, according to Zlatev (p. 154) has enjoyed peace and quietness under the strong Turkish authority and when together with economic flourish the building art progressed, especially in the mountainous areas, even then the construction of houses, in Bulgaria and in the rest of Balcan countries was done by foreign, mainly Greek, builders from Western Macedonia and Epirus, the famous «Mastorochoria» (builder's villages)(1).

We can thus explain the great similarity between the Bulgarian rural, and later urban, house to the Greek house as regards arrangement of spaces external architecture and the methods of building. Consequently, the evolution presented by the Bulgarian house from its simplest original forms to the more composite ones, not only on the former Greek lands (Rodope, Eastern Roumelia, Plate XVI) but also in the districts over the Haimos mountains (Plate XIII-XV) it is the same as that of the Greek house.

Zlatev knows the builders of Western Macedonia when he says that it is they who introduced the beautiful arched capitals to Western Bulgaria, that sometimes hang freely at the prostoon of the houses. But Zlatev sees in these a mark of the «Italian Rennaissance» which «the Macedonians transferred from the eastern shores of the Adriatic (!) to Western Bulgaria» (p. 155). This Italian Rennaissance, according to the Bulgarian architect, «was also transplanted in the house building of Eastern Bulgaria, yet through another route, namely through Constantinople and Adrianople, and the Aegean coasts, where it took a Byzantine influence»! That is to say, Zlatev does recognize

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tine court in everything. There were many foreign prisoners in the Bulgarian capital who were specialists in various arts, as well as free Byzantine master-technicians, even during the periods when the relations of Bulgaria with Byzantion were peaceful. We can safely say that the first teachers of the Bulgarians on art, crafts and handicrafts were foreigners. Everything which the court or the aristocrats needed, was made by these artisans». The fact that Greek craftsmen were teachers of the Bulgarians in building churches and houses, and that Byzantion sent craftsmen, builders, painters etc. into Bulgaria, may be seen in **I. Sakazov**, op. cit. pp. 46, 59, 78.

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1) On a total of twenty ancient tombs excavated in W. Macedonia by A. Keramopoullos, four contained, among other offerings, the tools of the dead (Minutes of Arch. Society, 1934, p. 77, 79, 80). It can be thus said that the craft of house-builder has been handed from father to son in that area for at least 2 000 years. (See **Ant. Keramopoullos**, Τί εἶναι οἱ Κουτσόβλαχοι Athens 1939, p. 56). About Epirote craftsmen see **Ang. Hadjimichali**, 'Ηπειρωτική λαϊκή τέχνη. 'Ηπειρωτικά Χρονικά Ε' 1930 p. foll and «La maison grecque» in L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Ser. II, 3 (1949) pp. 250 foll.

9:Megas I,B-5,4(no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
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on the ground floor and on the first floor as well. Some additional spaces are thus formed, giving a large variety of forms to the frontage of the houses (Figg. 58 and 60, Plate XVII 8).

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The prostoon, especially in the Moslem houses of the towns of Bosnia, is completely closed at the front on the upper floor because of the way Moslem women live. Thus, a large and wide hall (divanhana) is formed in front of the rooms, with projecting closed balconies, as we have seen them in the houses of Northern Greece and Rodope.

Fig. 57 House with an open portico in Novi
(Meringer, Volkstüml. Haus in Bosnien, fig. 53)

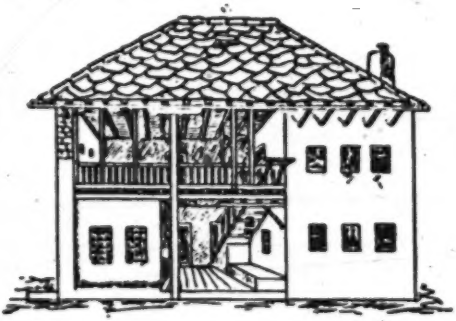

Fig. 58 Moslem house in Mostari with a prostoon open in the middle of the lower floor and over all the left part of the upper one
(Meringer, Volkstüml. Haus in Bosnien fig. 57)

In the more developed forms, the enclosed spaces which are formed at the end of the prostoon extend over the building line and thus give to the vertical aspect of the house the form of a Π.

Such a developed form of Bosnia house can be seen in the Moslem one of Travnik (Fig. 61) whose plans may be seen in Plate XVII, 9. The ground floor of this house consists of two main rooms (S and St) and of one prostoon, one part of which has been separated and formed a kitchen (K). Two more rooms have been built on the front (S-S) on either side of the entrance, thus giving the form of Π to the plan of the house.

The disposition of space is more elaborate on the upper floor. The divanhana is not one of the sides of the house, but in the centre of the floor. This was the reason why Meringer found it difficult to

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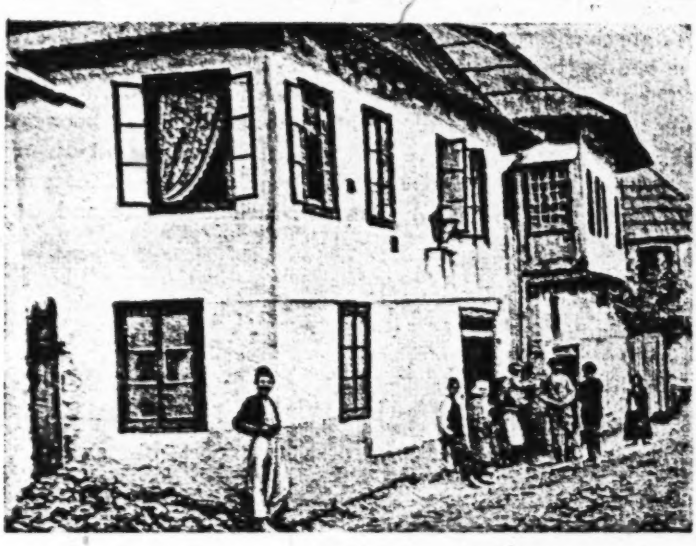

Fig. 59 House in the town Travnik
(Meringer, Volkstüml. Haus in Bosnien fig. 72)

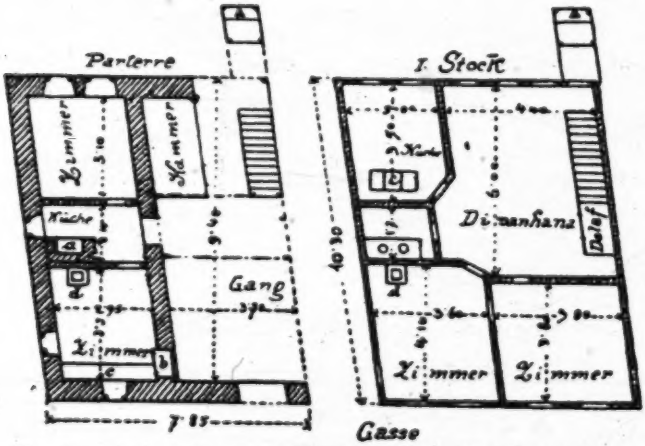

Fig. 60 Plan of the above Moslem house with the prostoon on the upper floor closed on all sides
(Meringer, Volkstüml. Haus in Bosnien fig. 73)

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explain the origin of that type of house. This formation, however, being the last stage in the development of the prostyle wide-fronted house, can be fully understood when one considers the similar forms of Greek houses. We must then suppose that before reaching the above stage, there was a simpler arrangement of space, with the prostoon remaining intact. The increase of space is achieved by the addition of two rooms on the frontage of the house on each side of the staircase,

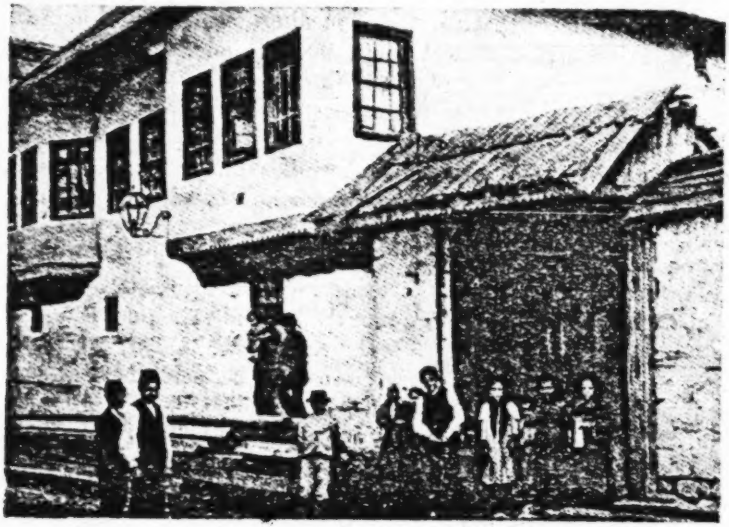

Fig. 61 Moslem house of Travnik with a covered gate-space leading to the courtyard. See plans of it on Plate XVII Nr. 9
(Meringer, Volkstüml. Haus in Bosnien fig 74)

as it can be seen on Plate IV 3e of the Greek house. Later in order to obtain a greater degree of security in the house, the front part of the house was closed by a high wall reaching up till the roof and including the staircase within the building, as it is seen on Plate IV 3 f. Finally, the need to obtain additional spaces, brought about the separation of the two ends of the prostoon and their transformation into rooms.

Thus, a part of the prostoon, remained as an empty space, in the centre of the house, and formed a central room, into which the doors of all the other rooms open and which, owing to its origin, kept the original name of the prostoon, divanhana.

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Thus, the evolution of the Bosnian house from the simpler to the more composite forms, as shown in plate XVII, which we compiled on the basis of plans of houses studied by R. Meringer, does not differ, in its general lines, from that of the Greek houses. That is to say, also the Bosnian house mainly owes its final form to the gradual modification of the prostoon, which extended in front of the rooms, just as with the Greek and the Bulgarian houses.

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Therefore, the remark made by Cvijic years ago, basically retains all its value, namely that the Greco-mediterranean type of house can be seen in Southern Serbia, Albania, Bulgaria and, in general, in all countries that were included in the Byzantine Empire or that had felt the influence of its civilization(1).

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From that point of view, the remarks of the Russian ethnologist S. A. Tokariof are interesting. Tokariof, as we have said, studied four years ago the shapes of the popular houses of the Balkan Slav countries. When describing the Moravian type of house, he says: «The old houses(2) are built mostly of branches and bricks, plastered on both sides with mud. The buildings are one-storied as a rule, but often there are houses with basements, dug into the ground. The floor is of beaten

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1) When **C. Jirecek**, in his book Geschichte der Serben, vol. 2. I. Gotha 1918, p. 74 foll. deals with the Serbian houses of the Middle Ages, he says: «Only the narrow houses inside the royal castles were more solidly built. But, according to Guillaume Adam, the courts of the kings and the nobles were enclosed by fences made of wooden posts. Only in the towns of the ex-Byzantine areas does one see «palaces» such as the one preserved in Melenikon; it is a Buzantine house of nobles with two floors, a large reception room and a square tower. During that period there were stonebuilt houses of many floors with open and closed balconies in the sea side towns of Cattaro, Antivari and Dulcigno. High houses were also to be seen in towns that were of Greek origin. In the villages most of the houses were wooden huts with a roof of straw. In the area of the Karst mountain, one could see stone houses, built without any mortar and of a rectangular shape. The fire place was the centre of the house. In the houses of richer inhabitants, meals were served, as in monasteries, on tables covered with a tablecloth. It spite, however, of this general imitation of the Byzantine ways of life, when Greeks visited the court of king Stephen Ouros (1268) their impression was that it was poor and primitive». (page 81). Cf. **Fr. Krauss**, Slavische Volkforschungen Leipzig, 1908, p. 4 foll.

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To prove the fact that Greek masons («majstori» and «protomajstori») worked in great numbers at the building of the fine churches, monasteries, palaces and other buildings in Serbia, see **C. Jirecek**, op cit p. 73.

2) I copy the text of the translation as it was published in «Μόρφωση» 1946 p. 130 and foll.

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decorations allow us to discern that these rooms were(1) separated later on. When he was considering Hahn's descriptions, that prove of a most acute observation power this investigator of Greek and Albanian folklore was endowed with, Nopcsa already found some elements that bring the house of Middle Albania near that of Kastrati described above (p. 71), in what the development of the prostoon is concerned. Judging from the plans of houses in Dyrrachion and Rethi given by the Italian G. Rosati(2) in his survey, Nopcsa arrives at the conclusion that «the shape of such a house constitutes the regular type in Middle Albania»(3). If seen more closely, the shapes of houses taken as a basis by Hahn show, however, a much more advanced stage of development than that of the best houses of Northern Albania; and the plans of these houses, I have drawn on Plate XVIII No. 16-19, are basically the same as the types of Greek house on Plates V 5^{b} and IV 3^{b-f}. It must also be noted that the completed shape of the Bosnian house (see above p. 91, Plate XVII 9) entirely corresponds to the type of house characterised by Hahn as Turkish (Plate XVIII 19).

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When examining the expansion of the prostyle wide-fronted house, Nopcsa finds that this house may be spread all over the Balkan peninsula, from the Peloponese to the area North of Skopje, but thinks that houses with a veranda are much more numerous in the Italian peninsula than in the Balkan(4). This is perhaps the reason why he accepts the opinion of Haberlandt, who recognises a «Roman and an Italian medieval element» in Albanian housing architecture.

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As I have not been able to see the survey of A. Haberlandt,

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1) **J. von Hahn,** Albanesishe Studien. Jena 1853 pp. 73 and 169 and foll.

2) I could not find the survey of Rosati, Condizioni agronomiche dell' Albania, 1915.

3) **Nopcsa,** op. cit. p. 46.

4) According to **Fr. Oelmann**, Haus and Hof im Altertum, p. 71, the portico which extends along the side of the rain-water drain (Längslaube) is the natural prolongation of the eagle-type wide-fronted house, especially if this house still comprises a single room, or if this room has been sub divided only internally. This may be seen in High Germany, High Italy, especially with Yugoslavs (Croatia, Serbia, Bulgaria), and Rumanians, as well as with the inhabitans of New Caucasus (The Tcherkg); more rarely with the Tcechs and the Poles, and not at all in Russia and Northern Germany. But while Oelmann mentions Southern Soudan, Beast Africa, India and even China, he never mentions Greece, and completely ignores everything connected with modern Greek architecture.

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of a masterbuilder (1). Haberlandt is then right when he states that the construction of Albanian towers was the work of travelling builder's guilds. The origin, however, of these builders must not be sought, as Haberlandt suggests, in the countries over the Adriatic and in Southern Italy; neither, as Nopcsa thinks, in Northern Italy and the Alpine regions, but in the Balkan peninsula itself, in an area which is very near to Albania as well, and whose inhabitants knew both the Albanian language and their customs well, so that they could freely enter that rough and inhospitable country. (2).

It is true that in Greece towers are only found in Mani, because social conditions and especially the vendetta have made defensive measures against personal and family enemies necessary, exactly as in Chimara and Albania. Before the liberation of Thessaly, however, the system of the above fortified towers was widely prevalent there,

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1) Here below I am giving a translation of a recently published survey by Mrs. **A. Hadjimihali**: «La maison grecque». «Each of these builders' villages has specialised in some part of building. Certain villages supplied builders, others decorators, others painters, woodworkers, etc. All these builders were known under the general name of «μαστόροι», whatever their speciality was. The master- builders, each leading a group of builders, formed notable guilds known under the local name of «ισνάφι». In Yannena, the builders' guild counted about 450 members, belonging to various branches of building art.

Each master-builder was the head of a group of about 10-20 men. Groups, however, who undertook big construction projects, had sometimes up to 100 men: builders, marble sculpters, decorators, painters, carpenters, turners, woodcarvers, etc. These builder guilds were leaving their villages under the leadership of their masters towards the middle of February and went to the place where work had been found. Their departure was cause for feasts, and so was their return in December, or round Christmas to the latest. (A desctription of these fiests is given here). These guilds were thus travelling from Macedonia and Epirus, all over the Balkan peninsula as far as Bucharest, Constantinople and even Asia Minor. Buildings constructed by these groups are found in all these countries: Graceful bridges on bold arches, famous churches, monasteries, immense caravan serajs, houses of noblemen, public buildings, palaces, minarets, mosques, bell-towers, etc.» (L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Serie B, year 3, (1949) p. 250)

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See also note 2 on page 79. Builders of Epirus, who have constructed the beautiful noblehouses of Western Macedonia, seem to be fully aware of the value and perfection of their work. One of the most beautiful houses of Siatista, built in 1754, has the following inscription on a glass pane: «Should you ask, my lords, what builder built this house, Nacos is his name, and he comes from Konitsa». (Ὁ Φάρος τῆς Βορ. Ἑλλάδος, 1939 p. 242).

2) **Ph. Koukoules.** Περὶ τὴν βυζαντινὴν οἰκίαν, p. 117.

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as well as in Macedonian lowlands; it was also found in a lesser degree in other parts of the Turkish empire, probably as remains of Byzantine and even older years. On the other hand, it is well known that in Middle Age, « many houses were provided with towers and castles whence, in case of need, the rich were defending themselves against the attacking and exasperated populace » (1). Square towers, sometimes four floors high and attached to the parallelopiped of palaces and richer houses of Mystras are still to be seen in ruins. These date from the second half of 13th-15th centuries and have been described in detail by Professor Orlandos. (2).

Many such towers are still preserved in Thessaly, and I have described some of them, two in Aghia and one in Agrafa, in my book about the Thessalian houses (3). Some types of older towers at Damassi in Thessaly are known to us from a sketch and a description by the French author L. Heuzey (4). These towers are also the work of the same Epirot and Macedonian builders.

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A mere comparison between the Greek towers and those of Middle, South as well as North Albania, as described by Hahn, Ekrem and Nopcsa, will show that their architecture is identical. These towers are square, they have three or four floors, each of them including but one space; an internal wooden ladder connects these floors and is used for the ascension from one to another. In some cases, a wooden fence divides the space of the ground floor into two parts only, the kitchen and the women's room. The system of an entrance through a draw-bridge, which connects the door of the second floor to a stone staircase built at a certain distance from the main tower, as

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1) **An. Orlandos,** Τὰ καλάμια καὶ τὰ σπίτια τοῦ Μυστρᾶ (p. 19, 54, etc.).

2) **G. Megas.** Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p. 82-85 Plate 1B

3) **L. Heuzey,** Excursions dans la Thessalie Turque en 1858, Paris 1921 p. 36 see translation of the relative paragraph in **G. Megas** Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p 84 Plate 36, where also photograph of old tower at upper Volos. Comp. the tower of Markellos on Aegina (**Lygizos,** Ἑλλ. νησιωτ. Ἀρχιτεκτ. p. 27) and the tower of Mytelene (**K. Maleas,** Εἰκόνες λαϊκ. Ἀρχιτεκτ. p. 24). I have seen similar old towers in Messaria and Starles on the island of Andros; same also exist on Naxos.

4) According to **Nopcsa** (p. 27 and 237) only one (!) fountain with a massive vault in Midritia is of modern Greek origin. Some other elements of the material life of Albania as well as the rest of Balkan originate, according to Nopcsa (p. 231), in the civilisation area of Constantinople and, «they are, therefore, of a Turkish and Byzantine origin having obviously reached Albania comparatively late».

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described by Hahn for towers in Middle Albania (p. 170), is found exactly similar in Aghia. And so is the way the lavatory is built projecting over the wall. Nopcsa, who had little knowledge about the architecture of Thessalian towers, related this building mode to towers of Northern Italy. Hahn and Ekrem have described smaller towers attached to the parallelopiped of the house, as in Mystras; or parts of the house formed into towers and used as a refuge when necessary; these were found in North Epirus and Middle Albania, but they are also known from North Albania.

Only open sun-terraces often crowned by arcades in the uppermost floor, as sketched by Heuzey and Hahn, are entirely absent from North Albania, where even the closed balconies are found but in some larger towers. The remark of Nopcsa on this subject is correct: this absence is an evidence of that the North Albanian kula is a product of decadence in this building art.

On the other hand, the methods of construction, as described by Ekrem bey Vlora, do not differ at all from the ones Greek builders apply: walls are also built with uncut stones, the space between stones is filled with gravel, together with or without any mud; they are just in the same way supported by wooden frames, exactly as in the Byzantine constructions (1).

According to a remark by the Albanian bey: « It is not possible to define a special Albanian style. Albanian houses display in architecture all characteristics of building art of peoples with whom the Albanians had come into close contact » (2).

As it is well known, the peoples with whom the Albanians have had an intercourse are the Yugoslavs in the North and the Greeks in the South. But while, as we have seen, there is no Slav influence upon the housing and building methods of Albanians, these methods are almost the same as the ones that always prevailed in Greece except for their adjustment to Moslem habits. It was asked from Albanians, who had become Moslems, to have an absolutely separate

1) **Ph. Koukoules,** Περὶ τὴν βυζαντ. οἰκίαν ἐν Ἔκτ. Βυζ. Σπ. I B 85. See also **D Loukopoulos** Αἰτωλ. Οἰκήσεις p. 45. Some other similarities between the houses of Albania and the houses of villages, such as formation of the roof, (with a cover of clay), construction of the floor (splinters of tree trunks, covered with wud), can also be seen in the description of ancient and modern building methods by **Ant. Keramopoullos,** Ἀνασκαφαὶ καὶ ἔρευναι ἐν Ἄνω Μακεδονίᾳ.

2) **Ekrem bei Vlora,** p. 56.